

# THE AMERICAN

## A NATIONAL JOURNAL

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### THE AMERICAN.

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#### CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.  
Free Coinage of Gold and Silver.  
Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.  
Opposition to Trusts.  
Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.  
Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, i. e., The Initiative and Referendum.

#### NOTES OF THE WEEK.

NEVER were a people better placed to work out their destiny untrammelled by foreign interference or embroilments than the American people. To point to a people anywhere on the globe, in time present or past, whose opportunities to freely grow as a republic and unfold as a democracy parallel the opportunities of the American people is an impossibility. The parallel cannot be found. No people ever had such opportunities to rear a vigorous republic and sound democracy as have been thrown

open to the people of the United States. The advantages which we have among nations, advantages given by our geographical position, are inestimable, and if, possessed of these advantages, we do not raise a nation superior to any of the present or the past, a nation of wealthier, more progressive and contented people than ever graced any land before, a republic upon firmer foundations and a democracy that will be truer and a nearer approach to the perfect than anything of the past we will have ourselves to blame.

Occupying the richer part of a great continent, capable of being self-dependent and quite independent of the rest of the world, with no powerful neighbors whose aggressions we need fear, separated by three thousand miles of sea from the powerful and monarchical countries of the world, which are thus precluded from effective interference in our affairs, we are released from the burdens of a defense that we would have to make permanent provision for in a large military establishment if it were not for the defense of three thousand miles of water. And a people who must waste a goodly part of their strength in keeping up a great army for the defense of their independence must be restricted in their growth, and a republic so placed cannot grow freely, nor a democracy be unfolded with that certainty that it should.

Freed from the necessity of keeping up such an establishment for our protection, while other countries groan under the necessity, we have great advantages over other countries, advantages that should place us foremost among nations. The magnitude of these advantages is shown up clearly by our war with Spain. Their possession enables us to declare war on Spain before raising an army to prosecute such war, enables us to go to war and raise an army afterwards without exposing our people to great risks, indeed certain losses. No nation of Europe could follow such a course, namely, first make war and then raise an army without being at once overrun by its enemies, without throwing itself open to a crushing defeat. This is what the defense of water does for us, it releases us from burdens that would otherwise rest upon us and so greatly increases the productive capacity of our people, a capacity that measures our strength.

THUS putting dependence in our natural defences we feel that there is no ground for uneasiness; that we incur no risk by the postponement of the gathering of an army for a week after the outbreak of hostilities. It is true that Spain is only a second rate power, and an exhausted one at that, and it is judged by some that failure to organize an army prior to the outbreak of hostilities with some first class power would have grievous consequences for us. And doubtless it is true that any first class power could despatch against us a fleet and army to make sudden descents upon our coast, sack and destroy towns here and there along the coast. To effectually prevent this we would have to gather an army and distribute it along the coast in such force that an army corps could be opposed within a few hours' time to a foreign force, wherever landed. And this would mean the locating

of an army corps within reach of every considerable town along our coast, and a very large army would have to be raised for this coast guard duty alone.

But the making of a foray and the effecting of a permanent lodgement on our coast would be very different matters. Such lodgement would scarcely be tried by any European nation acting single handed. If it was not made in great force the troops landed would soon be crushed. Indeed, the act of landing troops anywhere in the United States with a view to effecting a permanent lodgement would require great temerity.

BESIDES, no such lodgement could be made unless our enemies controlled the sea, for if they did not command the sea the source of supplies for the army that might be landed would be cut off and such army soon starved into surrender. And while our fleet is far from the equal of the French fleet it is not at all impossible that it could successfully dispute the supremacy of the seas in our own waters. This for the reason that a fleet dependent upon coal for its movements becomes cramped in its movements and its effectiveness the further it is removed from the base of operations. In a word a fleet far distant from a coaling station cannot keep the sea with anything like its full force for many of the ships will be constantly off to re-coal, or if it does keep the sea in force its movements will be hampered by colliers that must then accompany the fleet with coal. If such colliers do not accompany the fleet that the war vessels may be re-coaled without leaving their positions there must needs be a constant procession of vessels to the base of operations for re-coaling. And the further that base is from the field of operations the longer will be the procession and the greater the number of vessels that will be constantly absent from the fleet thus diminishing its effectiveness. And this base cannot be a neutral port, it must be a port owned by the belligerent or a port that could be captured and held.

Therefore if the French fleets operated against the United States they would have to operate from a base in the French West Indian islands, at least until they could take and hold a port of the United States. And the distance of the island base from the field of action would much deplete the effectiveness of the fleet. The real effective force of the fleet could not be kept up to the nominal force. A great part of the fleet would be constantly off recoaling. And fighting off our own coast, with supplies near at hand we could keep up the effective force of our fleet very close to the nominal force.

The French fleet, as its field of action drew away from the base would lose in its effectiveness, while the effectiveness of the American fleet would increase as it approached our shores. And therefore it is quite possible that our own fleet would hold its own against the force that could be brought against it in American waters by France. The only fleet that our fleet could not meet in our own waters with fair chances of maintaining the supremacy is the British fleet which would be strong not only from the number of ships but because Britain is possessed of numerous fortified posts which would make effective bases for operations by the British fleet.

So we see how the ocean is a defense against the fleets of monarchical Europe as well as against the armies. It is an effectual defense against the fleets of all countries excepting those of England which is possessed of good bases from which operations of her fleets against the United States might be directed. And especially is the ocean a defense against Spanish warships, for with Cuba and Puerto Rico closed as a basis for replenishing their coal bunkers they cannot well cruise off the American coasts. In neutral ports they can only get sufficient coal to carry them from such ports to Spain. And after once getting coal from neutral ports the belligerent vessel that happens to have

gotten it will not be supplied again within three months if it happens to return.

By this decision as to coal it becomes quite impossible for Spanish vessels to use neutral ports as a basis of operations against the United States and with the ports of Cuba and Puerto Rico closed to them it becomes next to impossible for Spanish ships to cruise in American waters or for a Spanish squadron to operate along the coast of the United States. The only way a squadron can operate is to take colliers along as part of the squadron. But such colliers must hinder the movements of the squadron. The filling of the bunkers of the war ships with coal from the colliers is a slow operation and one that can only be carried on in the calmest of weather and smoothest of seas. And, as we have said, such colliers must detract materially from the freedom of movement and activity of the fleet. Yet a Spanish fleet cannot operate in American waters unless accompanied by colliers or unless as its first act it scatters the blockading fleet of Rear Admiral Sampson and establishes Havana as a base of operations. If the Spanish try this latter plan the probabilities are that there will be no Spanish fleet left to annoy us.

THE President followed up his call of Saturday last for 125,000 volunteers by a brief message to Congress recommending a declaration of war. Obedient to this behest Congress promptly declared war on Monday on the Kingdom of Spain, which may soon be a republic. This declaration, desirable only because the President has certain war powers under the general laws and that he has no authority to assume until Congress declares war, simply declared that a state of war had existed since the Thursday preceding.

The call for volunteers is being promptly met and for the most part out of the organized state militia. The Governors of most of the states have called out the militia to rendezvous at appointed state camps that full opportunity might be given such militia to enlist as a body in the United States volunteer army. And this the militiamen have done with great unanimity though they were under no legal obligation to do so.

As few of the regiments in the militia are recruited up to the regulation number it happened that the number of officers as compared to privates was disproportionately large, and as the requirements of the War Department and also the volunteer bill under which enlistments were authorized were that full regiments should be enlisted this required the amalgamation of certain of the regiments of the state guards, and the loss of the identity of others. Naturally this was not relished by the guardsmen, for with the engulfing of their organization so was destroyed local and regimental pride and a certain *esprit du corps* and spirit of emulation that spurs men to do and die. And the engulfing of this spirit is much to be regretted. Indeed, one is disposed to question if it would not have been better to put up with under numbered and over officered regiments and taken the guards as organized than to reorganize the regiments so as to bring them up to the standard and attain the desired compactness and regularity of organization, a reorganization that destroyed the *esprit du corps* of many engulfed regiments. But under the Volunteer Act there was no alternative to the reorganization of the militiamen, as they enlisted in the army, so as to make full and compact regiments.

Nearly everywhere has the national guard enlisted and become the Volunteer Army. The only notable exception is Massachusetts. Governor Walcott, of that state, has resolved that the Massachusetts guard shall not go out of the state, that it shall be a home guard, stay at home to protect Massachusetts from invasion. So Massachusetts' quota of men must be recruited not from the militia but from men untrained to military discipline.

PRIOR to the declaration of war by Congress, Great Britain, rec-

ognizing a state of war to exist, declared her neutrality. Since the declaration the other powers have likewise announced their neutrality. But while all the powers announce their purpose to observe all the rules of neutrality, it is very evident that Britain is a neutral friendly to America, that the powers of Latin Europe are neutrals friendly to Spain. The British people are showing that friendliness to the United States in many ways, even to the point of exciting the ire of the Spaniards against themselves. And while the British people thus side with the United States, it is hinted that Great Britain will lay down neutrality rules that will favor America. Thus she has declared that no belligerent ship shall be furnished with more coal in a British or Colonial port than sufficient to take such ship to the nearest friendly port. And it is further decreed that if such ship turns up in a British or Colonial port within a period of three months and endeavors to buy coal, that that coal shall be refused to her.

And again we have the decree ordering all Spanish and American warships away from British ports within twenty-four hours or to stay there until the war is over. This sets a precedent which gives us the opportunity to call upon other nations, but specifically Portugal which is now sheltering a Spanish fleet at Cape Verde islands to order that fleet away at once. Indeed it is said that England ordered the American fleet away from Hong Kong, and detains the American torpedo boat Somers at Falmouth, because she did not sail within the time ordered, with a full understanding with our government and with a view to establishing a rule as to the hospitality that foreign nations should extend to belligerent war ships, a rule that is distinctly favorable to the United States.

THUS have British people and British Government earned the thanks of the American people until the bitterness of traditional enemies has given place to friendliness. And while this revolution of feeling was running over America, fuel was added to the fire by the press and semi-official press of Russia, a traditional friend of the United States, bitterly attacking America and Americans and misrepresenting the motives which have caused us to interfere in Cuba. Thus Russia and the United States, traditional friends, were on a fair road to become enemies, England and the United States traditional enemies evincing a mutual friendliness. Russia, traditional enemy of England was doing her part to make England a friend out of an enemy. At last the mistake was seen in St. Petersburg and a sudden change came over the tone of the press. But the damage done, the shock to the friendliness of Russia and the United States, of the Empire and the Republic, is not to be undone in an hour. It is easier to wound than it is to heal.

THE outbreak of war has been followed by a much increased demand for our agricultural products, a rise in prices for such products that can only be justly characterized as violent and, despite the rise in prices, an increased purchase by foreigners of such goods and increased exports. But while exports have gone up, imports have gone down, and as imports have gone down custom revenues have gone down. And this is a factor that may upset Mr. Dingley's calculations of revenues. If there comes contraction out of the war then will come lower prices, smaller imports and curtailed customs revenues and an unexpected hole in Mr. Dingley's revenue estimates. If on the other hand contraction does not come there will come no hole in the revenue estimates.

The rise in prices in our export products is probably not all due to the war, though war undoubtedly started the increased foreign demand that sent prices skyward. The truth is there is a scarcity of wheat. There is barely enough wheat, if there is enough, to last until the first of the new wheat is harvested, and if there is not enough wheat to last at the present rate of consumption, the price will surely rise until the present rate of con-

sumption falls off enough to bring the demand within range of the supply.

But the fear that the war would upset trade, in some way seriously interfere with the shipping of grain, had a great part in increasing demand and raising prices. British grain merchants showed a panicky desire to get all the wheat they could before hostilities and Spanish cruisers should interfere with shipments. As a matter of fact hostilities and Spanish cruisers will not interfere with our grain shipments for such shipments are made largely in foreign bottoms and Spain has announced her adherence to the doctrine of "free ships, free goods," so that American grain, when shipped in foreign bottoms, will not be liable to seizure. If we have the grain to ship war will not interfere with its shipment. There is only one possibility of the war with Spain interfering with the shipment of grain in foreign bottoms and that is a blockade of New York and other exporting ports by Spanish cruisers and the possibility of this is so remote as to be unworthy of consideration.

MR. DINGLEY'S revenue measure as presented to the House is a considerable improvement over the measure first outlined. The first measure contemplated the placing of duties on tea and coffee, the final one does not. And this is a distinct gain for duties imposed on tea and coffee and so as to yield about \$30,000,000 a year would have fallen in about this wise: Upon the richest 1 per cent. of our people who own 50 per cent. of the aggregate wealth of the country, \$300,000; upon the remaining 99 per cent. of our people, and who all told have only as much wealth as the richest 1 per cent., \$29,700,000. These duties would have thus fallen because being imposed on the consumption of articles of which the poor man consumes as many pounds per year, though of an inferior quality, as the rich man, they would have amounted to per capita taxes.

But though free of these objectionable duties the taxation part of the proposed measure is not equitable and just. Thus take the tobacco taxes, by increasing and adding to which it is hoped to raise \$25,000,000 of additional revenue. The first suggestion is to raise the general tax on tobacco, on manufactured tobacco and snuff from six to twelve cents a pound, the second to raise the tax on cigars from \$3 to \$4 a thousand, etc., and the third a tax on the gross receipts of manufacturers or dealers.

Between the different grades of tobacco and cigars no difference is made. All tobacco is taxed alike, whatever its value; all cigars, whatever their value. Thus the tax on the twenty-five cent cigar is four mills; the tax on the two-for-a-nickel cigar four mills. So he who smokes twenty-five cent cigars pays no more tax than he who smokes the cheaper. He pays ten times as much for his cigar, and probably has ten times the income, as he who smokes the two-for-a-nickel kind, but they both pay the same tax. It is clear that they do not contribute to the costs of the government according to their means. And so the tax is not just.

It may be that the manufacturer and dealer in tobacco cannot raise prices with the new taxes. It is probable that the twenty-five cent cigar will still be the twenty-five cent cigar, the two-for-a-nickel cigars still two for a nickel. The result will be at first to tax the manufacturer and dealer, but in the long run we may expect them to get even by giving a slightly lighter or inferior cigar. Certainly they will do so with the cheaper cigars, for on those the tax is proportionately much greater than on the dearer, on which the increase in tax is proportionately very small.

JUST where to place the increased tax on beer it is hard to say. It is proposed to increase the tax from one to two dollars a barrel, and as there was produced in the United States last year 34,462,822 barrels of beer, it is judged that the increase in the beer tax will yield about \$35,000,000 of additional revenue. Now who would pay it? The brewer or the saloonkeeper or the

consumer? The increased tax amounts to about  $\frac{3}{8}$  of a cent a glass, but there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the price of a glass of beer will be changed from a nickel. If the consumer pays the increased tax it will be then in getting a smaller glass of beer for his nickel. Otherwise the brewer or saloonkeeper or both will have to pay the increased tax. But wherever it lies it is an unjust tax because inequitable.

If it will rest on the brewer as some say, it may be regarded as a brewers' income tax, and it may be that the brewers can well stand it, but to be just and equitable an income tax must be general. As a sumptuary law the increased tax on beer may be defended but a just tax it is not.

Neither can the stamp taxes proposed on chewing gum and proprietary medicines be regarded as just, for such taxes will not fall upon men according to their ability to contribute to the support of the government. Such taxes put the costs of war unduly upon the poorer members of society and are therefore unjust.

THE most equitable part of the proposed tax measure is that by which it is hoped to raise perhaps \$30,000,000 of revenue by stamp taxes on documents, transfers, telegrams, etc. The proposed stamp taxes are approximately graduated according to the value represented by the documents upon which it is required they shall be put and would rest upon men proportionately to the value of their business. And as, in a general way, incomes may be supposed to run with business, the larger the business, the larger the income, such taxes would be equitable, for the larger the business the larger the value of stamps used.

There is one point in regard to the proposed tax on stock transfers that has apparently been overlooked. "On all transfers of shares or certificates of stock," it is written, "two cents on each \$100 of face" shall be paid by a stamp tax. Now all transfers of stocks, etc., are made by power of attorney, and it is later written that "Powers of attorney" shall be taxed 25 cents each. Therefore, the tax on the transfer of \$100 of stock would not be 2 cents but 27 cents, but one power of attorney will transfer \$10,000 of stock as well as \$100 and the tax on such transfer would be \$2.00 or plus the tax on the power of attorney \$2.25, or say  $2\frac{1}{4}$  cents for each \$100 of face as against 27 cents on the transfer of \$100 of stock. And this is unjust, for it taxes the small investor and burdens the small trader more than the large.

ON top of all these provisions for increased taxation, provision is made for the borrowing of money in two ways. One of these is a provision for the issue and sale of 3 per cent. coin bonds payable in twenty years but redeemable at the pleasure of the government after ten to any amount the Secretary of the Treasury may see fit up to \$500,000,000. And the second provision authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow money from time to time at not more than 3 per cent. and "to issue therefor certificates of indebtedness . . . of \$50 or some multiple of that sum; and each certificate so issued shall be payable with the interest thereon at such time, not exceeding one year, from the date of its issue, as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe." But of these certificates the Secretary of the Treasury must not have outstanding at any time more than \$100,000,000.

The provision for selling bonds should be stricken out, the provision for issuing certificates of indebtedness materially amended so as to make such certificates Treasury notes circulating as money. Make the certificates of indebtedness receivable for taxes and provide for the issue of such certificates in smaller denominations than \$50, and they would become money. They would in effect become Treasury notes and there would be no need to pay interest upon them, for men would be glad to take them without interest.

The question before us is simply this: Shall Congress authorize the issue of bonds and tie the hands of our people, or Treasury notes and unloosen all the activities, make available all the resources, the enterprise, the aggression of our people for the conduct of the war? Issue bonds and contract the currency and we will depress prices, cut down imports, see a diminution of customs revenue, a paralysis of industry; issue Treasury notes and expand the currency, and we will have rising prices and increasing revenues of the government and increasing resources of man to carry on the war.

COMMENTING on the Dingley war revenue bill, Senator Jones, of Arkansas, is put down as follows: "The bill is framed on old Republican theories, to levy taxes as far as possible per capita and on the masses, making only a pretense of levying any taxes on the wealth of the country." This is a declaration that, coming from the Democratic national chairman, puts one in the quizzical mood of asking what revenue taxes on tea and coffee and sugar are if they are not per capita taxes, of asking if such taxes are not at the very bottom of the Democratic theories of taxation. And if so, Senator Jones' indictment of the Republican party would equally fit the Democratic.

However, it may be that the Democratic party has lost its old loves and theories. So let us proceed with Senator Jones. "Under existing conditions," says the Senator, "an income tax ought to be levied by all means." It ought, indeed, but until we amend the Constitution or turn the Supreme Court inside out it can't. A further Democratic proposition to raise war funds is to coin the silver seigniorage in the Treasury, or, to make it at once available, to issue notes to an amount of the difference between the cost of the silver bullion now in the Treasury and its coining value, or about \$42,000,000.

Then we come to the bond proposition. The comment of Senator Jones is this: "I see no occasion for a bond issue; believe there is no necessity for it and think it should not be considered for a moment. If the necessities of the case require it the government might issue the necessary quantity of greenbacks." Decidedly towards Populism is the Democratic Chairman leaning. Is it an indication that the growing power of the rejuvenated Peoples party is recognized, that the Democratic leaders are being driven by the force of Populism that is rending asunder their party, driven as they were to free silver in 1894 and 95, or what?

SENATOR TELLER, as leader of another wing of the opposition party in the Senate, is much of the same opinion as Senator Jones. "I do not think the time has come when we need to authorize the issue of bonds. . . . If compelled to secure more funds it would be better at this time to resort to some temporary expedient, such as the issuance of greenbacks or Treasury notes. With \$220,000,000 in cash in the Treasury we do not want to increase the bonded indebtedness until we absolutely know that such a course is necessary."

BUT in his report to the House on the war revenue bill Mr. Dingley replies that such balance is a myth, that the Treasury has not actually the money to meet the war appropriation of \$50,000,000 passed six weeks since, that half of that appropriation can only be honored by drawing on the bank redemption fund, a fund deposited with the Treasury by the national banks for the redemption of their notes. How readily do men trim their positions and arguments to fit their immediate purposes! When the \$50,000,000 war appropriation was passed early in March we heard no breath to the effect that the Treasury balance was a mythical balance, no hint that the Treasury was not in position to honor such appropriation without drawing upon the funds of the national banks. On the contrary it was boastfully proclaimed that the money was in the Treasury, proclaimed that

the United States was in position to spend \$50,000,000 without resort to tax or loan.

And since when did it become a wrong for the United States to use the bank redemption fund as if it was its own? There was a time when it would have been illegal, there was a time when that redemption fund was held in the Treasury as a special deposit of the banks, a deposit made to provide for the redemption of bank notes, a deposit made to take the place of United States bonds withdrawn from the Treasury by the banks and as security for issues of national bank notes. But there came a time in General Harrison's administration when the government stood face to face with a deficiency, when the provision had to be made to enable the Treasury to meet its payments. Political exigencies were such that the new McKinley tariff could not be stamped as a failure. But something had to be done. And what did the Republican party in Congress do? Passed an act covering the bank redemption fund into the ordinary cash balance of the Treasury, to be thenceforth counted as part of that balance. And it has ever since been so counted and used.

But it becomes Mr. Dingley's purpose to get a bond bill through Congress. It becomes necessary to show that the government needs the money, needs it now, and so he proceeds to make the large cash balance in the Treasury appear fictitious. He gives a striking illustration that the Republican party can figure up or figure down with great facility. At a time in President Harrison's administration it was convenient to figure up, now in pressing a point it is convenient to figure down. So Mr. Dingley cuts out of the balance the bank redemption fund of \$33,000,000; he cuts out \$14,000,000 consisting of receipts of the Pacific Railroad sales, and that are held in the Treasury to meet an equal amount of Pacific Railroad bonds due January 1st, next; he cuts out \$13,000,000 of fractional silver coin, as uncurrent and unavailable. Thus he gets the cash balance down to \$165,000,000. From this he sets aside the \$100,000,000 gold reserve, declares that a working balance of about \$40,000,000 is required to properly carry on the operations of the government, and thus figures out that there is only in the Treasury a fund of \$25,000,000 available for war expenses, while war supplies have already been contracted for, under the \$50,000,000 appropriation, to much more than this amount, and must soon be settled for so that the Treasury is practically without an available cash balance, indeed, when the \$50,000,000 already appropriated is spent, will be \$25,000,000 behind. And so, after making a digression to laud the Dingley tariff law and loudly blowing his own trumpet, he imperatively urges the prompt enactment of his war revenue measure.

CABINET breaks have been prominent events of the past ten days though overshadowed by more stirring events. Mr. Gary who made little name for himself as a cabinet officer was the first to hand in his resignation on the ground of ill health. Charles Emory Smith, editor of the Philadelphia *Press* and quite as changeable as the President, took Mr. Gary's place as Postmaster General. In Mr. Smith there is brought to the cabinet table not a man of decision, of strong convictions, but a man who finds it easy to shape his opinions to the policies of his party whatever they may be, a man who has for many months shaped the policy of the *Press* so as to make it a mere reflector of the President, saying amen to whatever the President has said or done, contradicting itself, shifting its position when it has, as it has on several occasions, misread the views of the President, or perhaps been misled by the President's changeableness.

This Cabinet change was soon followed by the second. Mr. Sherman, long but a shadow of his former self, a physical and mental wreck, making a name for himself as Secretary of State only by his mistakes, was forced out of the cabinet and Judge Day, who has been acting Secretary of State from the day Mr. Sherman took the oath of office, was promptly put into his place.

#### PENNSYLVANIA POPULISTS IN LINE.

THE delegates to the Peoples Party State Convention assembled at Williamsport, Wednesday, April 27th, at the appointed hour for holding the convention.

Chairman Miller called those present to order. It was at once found that there were men present who proposed to force, if possible, the Peoples party of Pennsylvania to endorse the nomination of Dr. Swallow for Governor, and men who wished to engulf the Peoples party by making an alliance with the Democrats, and that some who proposed taking part in the convention were not delegates.

Immediately after the call to order, Wharton Barker was placed in nomination for Temporary Chairman and was declared by the State Chairman elected.

There was a storm of opposition from the Democrats and Swallow men who claimed there had not been given proper opportunity to make other nominations. The nominations were reopened, Wharton Barker was again placed in nomination by the Populists and Morris Deisher, who was not a duly accredited delegate to the convention, by the Swallow men and Democrats. Deisher received 28 votes and Barker 27.

A recess of a few minutes was then taken, but before the meeting Barker informed Deisher that he would be on his feet immediately on the reassembling of the committee and that he would ask whether the convention was in part made up of those who opposed independent action by the Peoples party—stating he would not attend any but a convention of the Peoples party. The question was duly asked of Deisher in proper season but was declared by Deisher out of order. Thereupon Barker, Chairman Miller, of the State Committee, Secretary Storry and other Populists retired, and at the call of the Chairman organized the Peoples Party Convention in another room.

On the question of who should be temporary chairman in the meeting at which Deisher and Barker were contestants there were fifty-five votes cast. In the Peoples party convention held later there were thirty-eight participants, all properly accredited delegates to the Peoples party convention.

During the meeting the following letter of Dr. Swallow was read, a letter that made it impossible for the Peoples party to consider him as a candidate for any office.

HARRISBURG, PA., April 8, 1898.

MR. R. A. THOMPSON,

MY DEAR SIR:—I yesterday received in Philadelphia from about one hundred representative citizens of the state, a nomination for Governor on an independent ticket, with a one plank platform, viz., "Honest Government."

I gave notice that I would send in my formal letter of acceptance on next Tuesday.

Your Dr. Taylor was present and I had a brief interview with him afterward.

Any and all others who may nominate me no matter what resolutions they pass in their Conventions concerning gold, silver, tariff, free trade, Cuba, prohibition, referendum, greenbacks, etc., etc., must accept me on the one plank platform and trust me for my interpretation (if elected) of honest government as applied to their several specialties. I can run on but one platform. It is generic, and broad enough to include all the others.

Yours fraternally,

S. C. SWALLOW.

P. S.—I highly appreciate what our Populist friends did for us last fall and trust we may have their support in the coming campaign.

S.

The following platform and resolutions reported from the committee on platform and resolutions, Philip Willit, Chairman, were unanimously adopted and the nominations as given below made without dissent for the State ticket, for members of the National Committee and for delegates to the National Convention:

#### Declaration of Principles.

We, the Peoples party of Pennsylvania in convention assembled, demand

1. Legislation that will establish on a permanent basis the  
CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

A.—Creation and maintenance of an honest measure of values by government issue of all money directly to the people.

B.—Free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 1 to 16.

C.—Government ownership and operation of railroad, telegraph and telephone lines.

D.—Opposition to trusts.

E.—Opposition to alien ownership of land and court-made law.

F.—Recognition of the right of the people to rule, *i. e.*, the Initiative and Referendum and the Imperative Mandate.

2. The overthrow of the Harrisburg ring that has fastened upon Pennsylvania a government that tolerates among public officials dishonest and unpatriotic practices; that does not enforce the laws when transportation companies, banks, trust companies and savings fund societies violate them; that supports and protects industrial trusts and other unlawful associations.

3. The overthrow of municipal and county rings, trafficking in public franchises, establishing telegraph and telephone, gas and water, light and heat monopolies in our cities, extending great privileges to street railway companies that confer upon such companies the power to charge the people not alone for services rendered but for the right to use their own streets.

4. Independent political action by the Peoples party, for it is manifest the people cannot obtain equality of opportunity through either the Republican or Democratic parties, and we condemn all plans for "fusion" with either and reject all proposals for "fusion" with either.

RESOLUTIONS.

We demand for the people of the United States an American Policy thorough and strict, and with all possible emphasis we re-affirm the principles of the Monroe Doctrine as enunciated by Thomas Jefferson:—"that our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to inter-meddle with Cis-Atlantic affairs," and we pledge our support of the Cuban Policy declared in the Joint Resolution adopted by Congress and approved by the President, April 20, 1898.

The Peoples party strenuously oppose any issue of bonds for the purpose of defraying the expenditure incurred in the impending war with Spain, believing that the cost of the said war can and by right ought to be met by the government issue of non-interest bearing Treasury notes, and that the said notes be full legal tender.

WHEREAS, It is being urged by a very large and influential number of Peoples party voters from many states, that the National Nominating Convention of the Peoples party, for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President, be held at some date during the summer of 1898. Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That this Convention, representing the loyal voters of the Peoples party of Pennsylvania, hereby extend greeting to said nominating Convention, whenever it may be held, and would most respectfully submit for its consideration the name of the distinguished citizen of Pennsylvania, the Hon. Wharton Barker of Philadelphia, as a suitable candidate for President of the United States.

*Resolved*, That we hear with sorrow of the mortal illness of Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, the great commoner of England, and add our tribute of respect to the usefulness and great moral worth of said commoner.

Nominations.

For Governor J. T. Ailman, Juniata County.

Lieutenant Governor R. A. Thompson, Indiana County.

Judge Superior Court Philip Willitt, Crawford County.

Congressmen-at-Large { W. R. Bricker, Lycoming County.

C. R. Shaw, Bradford County.

DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION ELECTED ARE:

Andrew Story, Crawford County.

R. A. Thompson, Indiana County.

Henry C. Snavely, Lebanon County.

Philip Willitt, Crawford County.

A. L. Laws, Bradford County.

W. R. Bricker, Lycoming County.

John W. Campion, Delaware County.

John H. Lorimer, Philadelphia County.

J. H. Stevenson, Allegheny County.

Dr. William Carroll, Philadelphia County.

J. A. Welsch, Lawrence County.

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

V. A. Lotier, Montour County.

Jerome T. Akin, Washington County.

Wharton Barker, Montgomery County.

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF AN INCOME TAX.

TO CARRY on the war with Spain we will need money, perhaps much more than can be conveniently spared from the present balance in the Treasury, and to provide such money an elaborate measure of taxation has been prepared by the powers that rule the Republican party. It is unfortunate that that measure should not be conceived on lines of equity and justice, but so framed as to throw a disproportionate part of the burdens of taxation upon the poorer members of society, but so it has been drawn. Whether it is fated that we shall be burdened with such unfair taxes and the evils inseparable from war be thus multiplied remains to be seen, but we must confess that the probabilities are that we shall be so burdened. To a great extent it was so in our last war and it is written in the proposed revenue measure that it shall be so to an even greater extent in this. It is said that new interpretation of our fundamental law, of our Constitution, makes this inevitable and well it may be so. But even so the war is not to be regretted but welcomed, for the evils that the war is undertaken to do away with are greater than the evils that may be incurred.

A more simple and effective measure of taxation than the one proposed and a measure as just and equitable and nearly perfect as it is possible for man to devise could have been found in an income tax and such a tax was incorporated into the revenue measures of the Civil War. But such a tax, made a part of the revenue measure passed by the Democratic party in 1894, was annulled by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional although the constitutionality of such taxes had been affirmed on several occasions prior thereto. And so the United States is proscribed from resort to this justest and most equitable of taxes, proscribed while the latest decision of the Supreme Court stands.

It was said, indeed, at the time of the annulment of the last income tax as unconstitutional that the previous income taxes were defensible and only defensible as war taxes and on this ground it is said that the Supreme Court would now have to hold an income tax to be constitutional as a war measure. But it is hard to conceive that a tax would be constitutional in war time that would not be constitutional in time of peace and in rendering its last decision the Supreme Court made no such nice distinction. It may well be that a tax would be justifiable as a war measure that would not be justifiable as a peace measure; there may well be times when it would be wise to impose a tax that it would be unwise to impose under different conditions but it is for Congress not the Supreme Court to judge of the wisdom or unwise, the timeliness or otherwise of legislation.

For the Supreme Court to hold a tax constitutional as a war measure and unconstitutional as a peace measure would be to

assume the right to say when a law might be imposed as wise and when repealed as unwise and such usurpation the Supreme Court has never attempted. So there is no reason to suppose that the Supreme Court would now reverse its position taken three years ago as to the unconstitutionality of an income tax simply because the income tax law declared unconstitutional was passed in time of peace and that an income tax law enacted now would be enacted in time of war.

It is indeed true that in the opinion handed down by Chief Justice Fuller upon the income tax case of three years ago, and handed down as the opinion of the majority of the court, reference was incidentally made to the income tax of 1864 as a war tax, from which some draw the inference that the Court only looked upon the income tax of 1894 as unconstitutional because passed as a peace measure. But the Constitution makes no distinction between war taxes and peace taxes, and from the reference made to war taxes it is not to be inferred that the Court made any such distinction.

This incidental reference of the court to war taxes was made in this wise: Early in the history of the Republic and when war was threatened with France, Congress passed a law taxing carriages. This tax was opposed as unconstitutional on the same ground that the income tax before the court was opposed, namely, that it was a direct tax and therefore, under the Constitution, should have been apportioned among the states not according to the number of carriages, but according to the number of people. On the face of it such an apportionment appears absurd, as it would leave the justice and uniformity of the tax to the merest chance. But no more absurd would it be than an income tax apportioned among the several states not according to wealth and income, but according to population. An income tax so apportioned and so as to yield to the government say 2 per cent. of the aggregate income of the people of the United States enjoying incomes of over \$4,000 a year, and as was proposed by the law of 1894, might very readily and undoubtedly result in a many fold greater tax on incomes in the poorer states than in the richer states, in the states where few men of large fortunes reside than in the states where many rich are to be found. It is not at all impossible that an income tax of 2 per cent. so apportioned would rest so heavily upon the well-to-do of some of the largely agricultural states of the South, where the well-to-do are few, as to tax from them all income of over \$4,000, while from the well-to-do in New York, where the rich are many, there would be taxed very considerably less than 2 per cent. of their incomes.

Obviously if an income tax must be apportioned so as to be thus unjust no Congress with a regard for the equities of taxation could resort to such tax. Yet it is thus that the Supreme Court has said an income tax must be apportioned in order to be constitutional.

We may well hold it to be an absurd decision, for it decrees that an income tax to be constitutional cannot be uniform and it is written in the Constitution that "all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." And inconceivable it is that the same constitutional convention that decreed that all indirect taxes should be uniform, should have conceived any tax to be direct, when it declared that all direct taxes must be apportioned among the states according to numbers, that could not be apportioned among the states so as to be uniform throughout the United States. As Justice Iredell said a hundred years ago, in his opinion on the carriage tax aforementioned: "As all direct taxes must be *apportioned* it is evident that the Constitution contemplated none as direct but such as could be apportioned."

On this and other grounds the carriage tax was held not to be a direct tax within the meaning of the Constitution, and therefore constitutional although not apportioned among the states according to population. It could not be so apportioned and still

apportioned among the states according to the rule of uniformity. And neither can an income tax. Yet to be lawfully imposed the Supreme Court has held that an income tax must be imposed so as to defeat uniformity of imposition, imposed without regard to the spirit of the Constitution!

And now to get back to the incidental reference of the Supreme Court in its late income tax decision to war taxes from which the inference is drawn that the court would perhaps draw a distinction between an income tax passed in time of peace and an income tax passed in time of war.

It was in speaking of this carriage tax which was declared to be constitutional a century ago that Chief Justice Fuller and his associate justices who concurred with him made incidental reference to war taxes. And the reference was this: "The act of June 4, 1794, laying duties upon carriages for the conveyance of persons, was enacted in a time of threatened war. It was, therefore, as much a part of a system of taxation in war times as was the income tax of the war of the rebellion."

But it was not on the ground that the carriage tax of 1794 was a war tax and the income tax of 1894 a peace tax that the Supreme Court declared there was not a parallel between the two cases and that there was no reason for the Court of 1894 to be guided in its decision on the income tax by the decision of the Court of 1794 upon the carriage tax. It had been urged before the Court that both cases involved the same principle, that both turned upon the same interpretation of direct taxation within the meaning of the Constitution and for the very good reason, and what seems to us conclusive reason, that we have pointed out. But the court held there was no parallel between the two cases, that the carriage tax was regarded as an excise tax and therefore not a direct tax within the meaning of the Constitution, that an income tax on incomes derived from the hiring of carriages, or from other personal property, or from rents on lands is a direct tax and therefore not constitutional unless apportioned among the states according to population, apportioned as no uniform, no just, no equitable income tax can be, as the tax of 1894 was not.

So we repeat there is no reason to suppose that the Supreme Court would declare an income tax passed now to be constitutional as a war tax. The last decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax case of 1894 appears to us manifestly wrong and unjust, for it hangs on the assumption that a meaning is to be attached to the words of the Constitution that is quite contradictory, and by which the unmistakable purposes of its framers is defeated. And on this ground the Supreme Court might well reverse its decision, but this the court as now constituted will not do.

No man can question that the purpose of the builders of the Constitution was to insure a uniform system of taxation, a system that would be just and equitable. And it is absurd to suppose that when they decreed that direct taxes should be apportioned among the states according to numbers, they had in mind taxes that could not be so apportioned without destroying the principle of uniformity. It certainly was not the intent of the framers of the Constitution to make it impossible for Congress to impose a uniform income tax, or carriage tax, or any other tax. The intent was, beyond peradventure, just the opposite, namely, to make it impossible for Congress to impose taxes that would not be uniform in fact, even if they were in name, and that would be oppressive in some of the states.

The tax peculiarly in view and the tax against which it was aimed to primarily guard was a capitation tax on slaves. Obviously such a tax would have rested largely, almost wholly, upon the Southern states, compelled those states to contribute much beyond their share to the support of the national government, and as the major part of the new Union in both number of states and population was opposed to slavery, it was feared by the Southern states that such a tax would be imposed upon them. It

was primarily to guard against this that it was proposed that all direct taxes should be apportioned among the states according to population. It happened also that land in the extreme Southern states was proportionately of lesser value, acre for acre, than in the Middle states, and it was feared that the Middle and Eastern states, outvoting the Southern states in Congress, would impose an arbitrary land tax of so much per acre, and thus throw the burdens of government unduly upon the Southern states.

Unless this was guarded against South Carolina and Georgia, speaking through their delegates to the Constitutional convention, announced that they would not enter the Union, and it was feared that upon their decision would rest the decision of North Carolina. As a safeguard against such taxes the insistent demand of Georgia and South Carolina was that the slave holding states should be given a representation in the House of Representatives as numerous as the non-slave holding states. With such a representation they could of course protect themselves against taxes on slaves of so much a head and on land of so much per acre, such as they greatly feared would otherwise grow out of the Union and that would be unjust to them. To get such a representation they insisted that representation should be accorded to them for their slaves, just as if their slaves were so many freemen. This was strenuously resisted by the Northern states. Finally a compromise was suggested on the basis of the numbers of free inhabitants and three-fifths of all others. Virginia, represented by high minded men who regarded slavery as alien to our institutions and an evil to the states in which it was planted, an evil of which they well wished Virginia were free, agreed to the compromise and it was accepted.

At this Georgia and South Carolina threatened to withdraw declaring it would lay the Southern States open to unjust and oppressive taxation, that if they joined the Union under such an agreement they could be obliged to pay a disproportionate share of the costs of government, and that if signing the Constitution meant risking this, they would not sign. Thus things stood at the close of one of those momentous days in the history of the convention when the fate of a nation seemed to hang in the balance, stood on the 11th of July, 1787, when Gouverneur Morris, of New York, always a hater of slavery, closed the debate in these words :

"I am reduced to the dilemma of doing injustice to the Southern States or to human nature, and I do it to the former; I can never agree to give such encouragement to the slave trade as would be given by allowing them a representation for their negroes."

And now we come to the time and manner in which the restriction as to the imposition of direct taxes found its way into the Constitution. As it is important, inestimably so as bearing upon the meaning of the words direct taxes as used in the Constitution we continue the story from the eve of the eleventh and when the convention was seemingly on the point of breaking up, in the words of Bancroft :

"The aspect of affairs at the adjournment was not so dangerous as it seemed. Virginia with a united delegation had her hand on the helm, while North Carolina held watch at her side.

"But Gouverneur Morris brooded over the deep gulf by which the convention seemed to him rent in twain; and rashly undertook to build a bridge over the chasm. To that end he proposed the next morning (July 12th) that taxation should be in proportion to representation. His motion was general, extending to every branch of revenue.

"The convention was taken by surprise. South Carolina scorned to be driven from her object by the menace of increased contributions to the general treasury and again demanded a full representation for all blacks. Mason pointed out that the proposal of Gouverneur Morris would so embarrass the legislature in raising a revenue that they would be driven back to requisitions on the states. Appalled at discovering that his motion was a

death blow to the new Constitution, Morris limited it to direct taxation, saying : 'It would be inapplicable to indirect taxes on exports and imports and consumption.' Cotesworth Pinckney took fire at the idea of taxing exports. Wilson came to the partial rescue of Morris, and the convention, without a dissentient, agreed that direct taxation ought to be in proportion to representation. In this short interlude, by the temerity of one man, the United States were precluded from deriving an equitable revenue from real property. Morris soon saw what evil he had wrought, but he vainly strove to retrieve it."

So we see the motive of Morris in making the motion that led to the resolution that all direct taxes should be in proportion to representation, or, as afterwards put, apportioned among the states according to their numbers to be determined by adding to the whole number of freemen three-fifths of the slaves. The purpose of Morris was evidently to steer the convention around the breakers that seemed to confront it. Those breakers were the threats of South Carolina and Georgia, growing out of the fear that they would be subjected to unjust slave and land taxes if they joined the Union without the security that full representation of their negro slaves in Congress would give to them. The aim of Morris was to avoid "doing injustice to the Southern States" by exposing them to oppressive taxation at the mercy of the anti-slave states and at the same time to avoid outraging his sense of human justice.

We have pointed out the fears of South Carolina and Georgia that by joining in the Union they would expose themselves to oppressive taxation, the dangers they thought they would run because of want of justice on the part of the Northern States and dangers they did not care to risk. These dangers were taxes on slaves of which the Northern States held few and taxes on land, which was relatively cheap in the South, of so much per acre. Such a slave tax would have compelled the Southern States to contribute infinitely more to the support of the Government than their Northern sisters and such a land tax would have been many fold more burdensome in the South than in the North. Yet it was very obvious that if the Southern States were not given full representation in the House of Representatives for their slaves they would be outvoted by the Northern States which might arbitrarily and unjustly put upon the South a disproportionate part of the costs of government by imposing such taxes.

To expose the Southern States to the possibility of such taxation Morris saw was an injustice to them, yet to protect them against such injustice by giving them full representation for their slaves and so encouraging the extension of the slave trade he felt to be a greater outrage to human nature. In this dilemma he sought for some other means by which the Southern States might be safeguarded against unjust taxation, against a capitation and land tax of the nature above recorded. This he saw could be accomplished by providing that such taxes should be in proportion to representation. In feverish haste he followed this thought out by proposing that all taxes should be so apportioned and then amending this proposition so as to cover direct taxes only. And this proposition the convention agreed to as providing for safeguards such as would secure a uniformity of taxation, such as would insure the Southern States against being called upon to contribute more than their share to the support of the government.

Thus it is seen that in the view of the Constitution makers direct taxes were primarily capitation taxes of so much per head and land taxes of so much per acre and that in the Constitution the words direct taxes must be taken in the meaning of capitation taxes and land taxes. It is clear that this is the meaning in which Bancroft was convinced that the framers of the Constitution held the words direct taxes, it is clear that in proposing to apportion direct taxation according to representation Gouverneur Morris went in his haste further than he intended, that he precluded the United States not only from imposing capitation taxes

of so much per head and land taxes of so much per acre save by apportionment among the states according to numbers, and as was obviously his purpose, but from imposing land taxes upon a basis of values, taxes that would be thoroughly uniform and equitable throughout the United States. He intended to preclude the United States from raising land taxes on a basis of so much per acre, because they would not be uniform or equitable throughout the United States but just the reverse.

We also learn that Morris later labored but in vain to undo that which he had done without due thought. But while it was generally understood when the Constitution was adopted that the effect of the Morris motion was to preclude the United States from imposing an equitable land tax, no one dreamed that it precluded the United States from imposing an income tax, from deriving revenue by an equitable tax upon accumulated wealth. Yet it is thus that the clauses in the Constitution that grew out of this motion are now interpreted. They are interpreted so as to preclude the United States from taxing men according to their means, interpreted so as to make the collection of a uniform income tax an impossibility. And the very clauses that are thus interpreted were adopted with a view to secure a uniformity of taxation. It is a false interpretation and as such might well be reversed.

And on this ground it is urged that the income tax question may well be reopened by the enactment of an income tax that the Supreme Court may be given an opportunity to pass again on the constitutionality of an income tax and reverse the former decision. But reversion of the decision is no more to be expected on this ground, namely, that the latest interpretation, reversing as it did former decisions, was wrong, that the older decisions were right, than it is to be expected that the Court would to-day declare an income tax constitutional as a war tax and thus declare an income tax constitutional as a war measure unconstitutional as a peace measure.

It is indeed true that the personality of the court has been somewhat changed since it rendered the decision adverse to the constitutionality of the income tax law of 1894, in May, 1895, and it is true that this decision was rendered by the bare majority of 5 to 4, and because of this change of personality it is urged that the court might reverse its position should the question be tried again to-day. But for this hope there is no ground.

With the hand of death resting heavily upon him, Justice Jackson, of Tennessee, arose from his sick bed three years ago to be recorded in favor of the constitutionality of the tax. He thus arose from his sick bed with the shadow of the grave upon him, and though he thereby invited an earlier arrival of death, to break a tie in the Supreme Court and that the income tax might be declared constitutional. But he arose in vain for Justice Shiras, of Pennsylvania, who had but a few days before voted to declare the income tax unconstitutional, changed his vote. And now Jackson, who upheld the constitutionality of the income tax, is dead, and his place filled by Peckham, of New York, an appointee of Mr. Cleveland.

One other change there has also been in the Court. Justice Field of California who voted against the income tax has resigned and his place been filled by Justice McKenna, late Attorney General in Mr. McKinley's Cabinet. So two judges who took part in rendering the last income tax decision, one who held the tax to be unconstitutional and one who dissented, can take no part in a review of the case. But who can doubt that Justice Peckham, appointed by Mr. Cleveland, taken from the bar of New York and bred in all its influences of wealth, would hold an income tax to be unconstitutional? And what reason is there to believe that Justice McKenna would decide differently? The truth is that the view that an income tax is unconstitutional is, in all probability, stronger in the Court to-day than it was in 1895.

Before an income tax can be imposed an appeal must be taken to a higher court, the court of the people. To devise a

limping income tax that would not conflict with the fundamental law as now interpreted is quite possible. But such an income tax we do not want for it would not be equitable; to devise it would be a sheer waste of time. Why this is so, why we should direct our energies to securing a reversal of the decision of the Court, and a reversal not by the Court but by the people, how the income tax case should be reopened and how the appeal taken to the highest of courts are questions so broad as to demand separate treatment, which, for fear of a surfeit, we postpone to another week when it will be our endeavor to present satisfactory answers in an article which we shall give as a sequence to this.

#### THE STANDARD OIL AND CANADIAN PACIFIC.

A CANADIAN correspondent of the *Petroleum Gazette*, of Titusville, Pa., has two comments to make in regard to that part of a recent editorial on the Standard Oil Trust appearing in THE AMERICAN, and republished in part in the *Petroleum Gazette*, in which we incidentally remarked upon the relations of the Standard Oil Trust to the Canadian Pacific Railway. One of these comments is corrective or in the nature of a disclaimer of a certain implicatory assertion of ours that the Canadian Pacific is the Canadian Government; the other is one of inquiry as to the benefit that the Standard Oil Company receives at the hands of the Canadian Pacific Railway by grace of a certain contract. This benefit is that the Canadian Pacific Railway lends its assistance to the Trust in shutting independent oil refiners out of the markets of our western States, out of California, in consideration of a lump money payment made to it by the Trans-Continental Association (an association of twenty-one roads of the United States) to the end that the railroad monopoly of this association may be kept effective in the United States, that the rates established by this association which are prohibitive to independent refiners of oil and grossly discriminative in favor of the Standard Oil shall not be broken down by competition from the Canadian Pacific. In short, the Canadian Pacific agreed to charge such rates as this association might dictate on all freight shipped over its lines to points in our Pacific States and thus made itself a party to the discrimination of our roads in favor of the Standard Oil Trust and other favored shippers by agreeing to charge the rates on shipments of oil and other produce over its lines, but destined for points in our Pacific States, that this association saw fit to make, rates made prohibitory to independent refiners.

Bear in mind that this agreement was an agreement in restraint of competition to points in the United States. It in no way bound the Canadian Pacific as to freight rates to points on its own lines and in Canada. Whether the Canadian Pacific does play in with the Standard Oil Trust to squeeze out competitors of the Standard from markets in Canada, we have no knowledge. The agreement spoken of does not bind it to this. It simply binds it to play in with the American railroads in squeezing competitors of the Standard Oil Trust, and of any other trust or shipper favored by the managers of our Trans-Continental roads, out of the markets of the Pacific States.

And as the Standard Oil Trust is thus favored by the Trans-Continental Association it becomes of interest to inquire what part the Trust has in the management of the roads making up this association. What secret influences the trust may exert over the management of these roads it is difficult to answer, for these influences are of a kind which one may be morally certain are exerted, but which cannot be legally proven. But the direct part of the Trust in this management is that Mr. John D. Rockefeller, President of the Trust, is a director of the Northern Pacific road, Henry M. Flagler and Benj. Brewster directors of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway, both roads that are members of the association that has paid the Canadian Pacific a subsidy not

to break down rates and leave the American roads untrammelled to discriminate in favor of the Trust.

To shut independent refiners of oil out of the markets of California, and so maintain a monopoly, it is obviously necessary that all the lines of transportation shall work in the interest of the Standard Oil Trust. If one transportation line, say the Canadian Pacific, refused and undertook to lay down oil of independent refiners in our Pacific states at the same rates charged the Standard Oil Trust, it is obvious that all the work, all the discrimination of our roads in favor of the Trust would be brought to naught, obvious that the independent refiners could not be shut out of California and other Pacific state markets. So to establish a monopoly the Canadian Pacific had to be bought off and in the interest of the railroad monopoly that works in the interest of the Standard Oil and other trusts, that confers riches on such shippers as its managers may choose and drives others out of business, the Canadian Pacific was bought off.

And for similar reasons, to keep up monopoly, for the purpose of preventing competition and establishing and maintaining high freight rates on shipments to the Pacific states, preventing any undercutting of the prohibitory rates that our railroads might see fit to charge independent oil refiners and other producers frowned upon by our railroads that the Standard Oil and others upon whom the railroads smiled might prosper, it was necessary to buy off the Pacific Mail Company shipping freight from New York to San Francisco and thus between points east and points west by way of the Isthmus of Panama. And so the Pacific Mail Company, of which one "Oliver H. Payne, former treasurer of the Standard Oil Trust, was a director" (everywhere we see the hand of the Trust) was bought off, bought off by an annual subsidy of \$900,000 or \$75,000 a month, a sum equal to 5 per cent. on a capital of \$18,000,000, which, by agreement of October 1, 1889, the Trans-Continental Association of American Roads agreed to pay. In consideration of this the Pacific Mail Company surrendered its independence, agreed to let others dictate its charges, agreed to play in with the railroads in crushing competitors of the Standard Oil, competitors of any trust, any clique that the roads, or rather the managers of the roads and this Trans-Continental Association, of whom the president of the Standard Oil was one, might choose.

The contract by which the Pacific Mail surrendered its independence and made itself a part of the Trans-Continental transportation monopoly working in the interest of the trusts bears date of October 1, 1889. The pith of this agreement was in the following words :

"That said Steamship Company will permit the said party of the first part (Trans-Continental Association) to fix the rates at which all through freight between New York and San Francisco and all passengers shall be transported by the vessels of the Steamship Company, between the port of New York and the port of San Francisco, and from the port of San Francisco to the port of New York, and will furnish room on each of said steamers from New York to San Francisco, respectively, and through connecting steamers, for the transportation, and will transport from New York to San Francisco, *all and only such passengers and freight as may be tendered under rates fixed by said party of the first part.* . . . And that no through freight or passengers shall be taken except at prices fixed by the party of the first part, or by its consent."

We speak of this contract for the reason that it was of a similar nature to that made a year later, a contract dated November 28, 1890, with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, a contract by which the Canadian Pacific was guaranteed \$500,000 per annum and for which it agreed, in the words of the contract, to do this.

"The first party (Canadian Pacific) agrees, on behalf of itself and all lines doing said California traffic, in connection with its system, to maintain the rates and rules of the Trans-Continental Association as in force on the direct United States lines ;

it being understood that the consideration which the Canadian Pacific Railway Company gives for the foregoing guarantee (\$500,000) is an undertaking to work for said California freight traffic upon a perfect equality with the United States lines in respect to rates, rules and conditions published by the Trans-Continental Association, as governing said freight traffic."

By such contract the Canadian Pacific agreed to charge the prohibitory rates on shipments of oil charged independent refiners of oil by American roads that are parties to this Trans-Continental Association, prohibitory charges that shut independent refiners out of the markets of our Pacific states and confer upon the Standard Oil a firm and fast monopoly. And a party to this Trans-Continental Association that thus subsidizes the Canadian Pacific in the interest of the Standard Oil and other trusts is John D. Rockefeller, President of the Standard Oil Trust. It is a way the Standard Oil Trust has of getting some other fellow to bear the costs of buying immunity from competition for itself.

As we have said all that the Canadian Pacific has been paid for, at least paid for under this contract, is to let the Trans-Continental Association have a free hand in sustaining monopoly in our Pacific states, monopoly of the Standard Oil or anything else.

And now a word as to the other comment of the correspondent of the *Petroleum Gazette* on the relations of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the Canadian Government. He asserts that the government does not control it at all, that the Canadian Government is not interested in it. But, if we are not much misinformed, the Canadian Government is interested to the extent of having guaranteed 3 per cent. as a minimum dividend on \$65,000,000 of stock, to say nothing of guaranteeing interest on bonds, which if not earned by the road must be paid by the government. In all, the Canadian Government guaranteed interest, we believe, on something like \$110,000,000 of stock and bonds, besides making direct gifts of money, grants of lands, grants of special privileges, such as immunity from taxation. So it appears that the Canadian Government has considerable of a stake in the Canadian Pacific.

Speaking recently in the United States Senate, Senator Elkins, referring to the close relations of Canadian Pacific Railway and Canadian Government, remarked that "the Canadian Pacific Railway has been called by some the Canadian Government on Wheels. I do not use" he continued, "any such terms in my opposition to it, and in what I have to say I do not wish to make any personal reflections upon the management of the road. Of its management, in securing business, serving Canada and her people, nothing but good words can be said. My only complaint is it is too ably conducted in taking business from American railroads."

"**H**APPY are all free peoples,  
Too strong to be dispossessed,  
But blessed are those among nations  
Who dare to be strong for the rest" —*Mrs. Browning.*

"All that is human must retrograde if it do not advance." —*Edward Gibbon.*

"They that give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety." —*Franklin.*

"Let us have faith that right makes might ; and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it." —*Lincoln.*

"It is the nature of parties to retain their original enmities far more firmly than their original principles." —*Macaulay.*

"Even a bishop will steal if he is very hungry." —*Russian Proverb.*

## BOOK REVIEWS.

## Church Builders, Unbuilders and Rebuilders.

*Guesses at The Riddle of Existence, and Other Essays on Kindred Subjects.*  
By GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.25.

A favorite subject for debate in young men's church societies used to be, perhaps still is, the question whether there is greater happiness in the pursuit of a desired object, or in the attainment of it. The discussion usually drifted into a strictly philosophical inquiry as to the greater bliss of courtship or matrimony, and it was generally noticed that the young men favored wedlock, and the married ones wavered in the other direction. If there might be a convention of all the reverent intellects of the world, and the question were propounded whether a higher moral gain and a keener mental gratification would be realized by the finding out than in the searching after, the mystery of life, it is conceivable that the weightier vote would pronounce for—not knowledge—but the quest of it. The wisdom of politic ignorance commends itself with a force not lessened by the irony of its reminder that while our arms remain arms it is profitless to flap them as if they were wings. Noble souls in all ages have attained degrees of spiritual exaltation far beyond the following of aspirants fully as eager to soar, but equipped with powers which, however lofty or trained, fail to lift them a single inch above the topmost peaks of the knowable. Yet in the glamour of the mists that float around these peaks is an enchantment for the baffled wit of puny man, who finds himself irresistibly lured to scale the sunbeam ladders by his liberated imagination and lose his mundane self in ecstasy of faith. The seers of old have buoyed up the heart of humanity, through long ages of oppression and despair utterly beyond our realizing or measuring. They wrought with a spell divinely potent and cheering. The scene has shifted to an age of Reason, an age when, in spite of, or because of, such broadcast superfluity of luxury as has made it common, the plight of suffering masses in Christian lands cries piercingly to God and man for stronger draughts of the old soul-solace, pending a healing by material methods. Reason puts on its most oracular and benignant air as it comforts the starving clamorers for religious food with the dole of a riddle book on the miseries of mind and body, to which it gives no answers, and its guesses only suggest that the hungry had better get used to their hunger.

A riddle tragically bewildering is that now being put by the mouth of the cannon. Two Christian nations, votaries of the Prince of Peace and the principles of His gospel, invite the heathen world to watch them as each prays for an exclusive blessing on its own weapons of war. The inquiring savage, being unenlightened, has a choice of two guesses; either the prayer is addressed to a deity who, to quote the author, "so identified himself with a favored tribe as to license it to invade a number of other tribes which had done it no wrong, to slaughter them and take possession of their land," or the professed creed of the New Dispensation is like a waterproof overcoat that can be worn either side out according to the weather. This benighted heathen will find the riddle tougher to guess as the missionary instructs him that the bloodthirstier of the two combatants, Spain, is admittedly the faithfulest believer, as a nation, in the official literalism of the ancient creed. Prof. Smith puts it with the great authority of his penetrating mind that this confusion of interpretation, this cleavage of devout thought over the old belief, is the dominant evil, or cause of evil, of our day. "These are troublous times. The trouble is everywhere: in politics, in the social system, in religion. But the storm centre seems to be in the region of religion. The fundamental beliefs on which our social system has partly rested are giving way. To replace them before the edifice falls, and at the same time to give us such knowledge as may be attainable of man's estate and destiny, thought must be entirely free." Perhaps it may be the author's characteristic quality of perspicuity which gives this passage an apparent incompleteness. It is possible for the intellect to overrate its importance as a factor of public happiness. St. Paul hits the nail on the head when he reminds theologians, scientists, and philosophers, "that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual." When the social system works justice between man and man, and good will between rich and poor, there will be little need to dispute over its creed. This convulsion in religious thought is not the trouble itself, it is the symptom of a deeper malady, the failure of professions of "fun-

damental beliefs" to perform the fundamental obligations of Christianity in their integrity, which are to prevent injustice, to succor the poor and oppressed in one's own country first, and to keep conscience and conduct unspotted by sordid worldliness. The storm-centre is emphatically in the social system which gaily labels itself with the Christian mint-mark, and not in the realm of belief, and for once carnal philosophy in its practical mood can claim the sanction of holy writ for tackling the social problem undistracted by metaphysical riddles, because the natural welfare of humanity comes first in order of duty.

Prof. Goldwin Smith, now a septuagenarian, sits down to liberate his soul upon the sacred mystery of life and death. No subtler intellect has grappled with the tremendous problem, no pen surpasses his in lucidity, equaling the thought it records; no self-examiner has been more honest in testifying. Some sadness tinges the reflection that if one of his standing had published this book thirty years ago, he would probably have shared the obloquy which crushed the bolder spirits who led the van of the freethought column of which he now adorns the rear. "Thought must be entirely free," yes, but Prof. Smith did not in those perilous days permit it the entangling companionship of speech. The story is credited to his friend Disraeli, but the latter was a borrower. Being asked "What belief do you hold?" he replied, "That held by all wise men." "And what may that be?" "They are too wise to tell." In these essays, which are really miniature treatises, packed with condensed thought and testimony, the author discusses The Church and the Old Testament; Is there Another Life? The Miraculous Element in Christianity; Morality and Theism, and the first paper bears the title of the book. Almost all the arguments are familiar to those who have followed the general subject since Darwin, Colenso, Davidson, Huxley, and the brave little band of pioneers threw the rays of their individual lanterns on the bases of orthodoxy. But the author's unrivalled directness, which many will feel to be almost ferociously blunt, gives sparkle to every sentence. It was happily said of Emerson that his sentences are unpolished gems, tumbled out like a sack of coal. Goldwin Smith's are cut to flash and placed in a row, each touching each, but each can be picked up and handled for its own sake.

A "portly and learned volume, by the Rev. Dr. Salmon, on 'The Christian Doctrine of Immortality,'" forms the text for the essay we now quote from as an example of the author's trend and style: "Science . . . has put an end to the traditional belief in the soul as a being separate from the body, pent up in it as a prison-house, beating spiritually against the bars of the flesh and looking to be set free by death." He suggests the disuse, temporarily at least, of the word "soul" in this sense, using instead "the higher life or of spiritual aim and effort." This is radicalism indeed, but hearts long subjected to intellectual cold-storage are likely to lose their appreciation of the poetical, which loves to feel there is a soul of love, goodness, beauty and truth. The disproportion of eternal rewards and punishments "to the merits or sins of man's short life is profoundly repugnant to our moral sense." The Roman Catholic Church has created a Purgatory to replace the narrow line of demarcation between the doom of the wicked and the good, who are never wholly the one or the other. This shadowy abode of the dead, however, the author admits elsewhere is found in the Old Testament, in which "no evidence can be found of a belief in the immortality of the soul." Again, there is a recognition of the doctrine of the conditional immortality through belief in Christ in reference to this now very widely received interpretation, though the author holds that the promised "life" was only temporal. "A belief in the immortality of the soul has been a part of most religions, yet not of all. It is absent from the sacred books of the Hebrews, strenuous as have been the efforts to import it into them. . . . Egypt seems to have been pre-eminent in the definiteness of her creed and the minuteness of her mortuary ritual, while she was also strangely pre-eminent in the effort to protract the existence of the bodily tene-ment, showing thereby apparently an absence of belief in the separate existence of the soul." The Persian and Buddhist faiths are dismissed as worthless testimony to this belief. Immortality of the race is a poor substitute for individual existence.

"It is sad that man should perish and perish just when he has reached his prime. This seems like cruel wastefulness in nature. But is not nature full of waste? The deaths of children, of which a large number appear inevitable, seem to present an insurmountable stumbling-block to any optimism which holds that nature can never be guilty of waste, even in regard to the highest of her works. . . . It is not the extinction of bravery and wisdom that most moves our pity for ourselves. . . . It is the perpetual slaughter of affection that touches us most, and that, we should

think, would most touch the Power in whose hands we are, if in its nature there is any affinity to mortal love. . . . Yet man shrinks from annihilation. If he were certified of it. . . . his being would receive a great shock. A fearful light would be thrown on the misery and degradation of which the world is full, has always been full and is long likely to remain full. . . . There does seem to be a voice in every man which, if he will listen to it, tells him that his account is not closed at death. . . . There seems to be no reason why we should not trust the normal indications of our bodily sense, and against the belief that the greatest benefactors and the greatest enemies of mankind rot at last undistinguished in the same grave our moral nature vehemently rebels."

As for the lot of the vast mass of poverty's victims, afflicted with the vauntings of unearned and unspent wealth, intensifying their physical torments, "the estate of man upon this earth may, in course of time, be vastly improved (by science, political improvement, etc.). On the other hand, the horizon does not appear to be clear of cloud. The pressure of population is a danger which the anti-Malthusian can no longer set at naught, and to check which it is certain that Providence will not interpose. The tendency of the factory with its increasing division of labor has not hitherto been to make industrial life less monotonous or more cheerful." So ends the philosophic guess at this awful riddle. No solution, no hope of solution. Elsewhere he pronounces this dismal benediction on cheerier folk, who, at least, try hard to work a solution. "We speak of the brotherhood of man as our great security for mutual benevolence and our high inducement to virtuous effort. But is it an absolute certainty that men are brothers? Has science pronounced decisively in favor of the unity of the race? Some men of science have pronounced on the other side. Again, does not brotherhood imply a common paternity, and where is the common paternity unless we have all a father in God? If that idea is set aside, are we not as much competitors as brothers?" As a contribution to the promotion of moral or material happiness this masterly book of empty guesses has little worth. As a provocative of searching thought it is invaluable. As a mirror of what calls itself advanced thought it is clear, useful and handy. Some radical reformers set their man up to be operated upon by their patent instruments. First they start to improve the living subject by lopping off his limbs and other hindrances to elevation, till only the soul is left; as little helpful to himself or others as body without spirit. Goldwin Smith goes out as a valiant unbuilder of the fabric of the church universal, that has beautified the landscape this thousand years and been a strong tower of refuge for generations of those in trouble. He undermines the foundation, and down it comes. And what does he put in its place? A wanderer's tent, shiftable, unwindowed, over-ventilated. To-morrow it may be blown away and be seen no more, and its memory fade forever, for it can leave only a few traces on the green earth, which another spring-time will obliterate with the old sweet flowers of unquenchable hope. Then will come the rebuilders, and the old stones will have a glorious life again.

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#### Psychological Development and Rights of Animals.

*Evolutionary Ethics and Animal Psychology.* By E. P. EVANS. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

Well may it be asked: What will be left for believers in the old order of things, and where shall they seek and find refuge, if the simple time-honored faith that has comforted generations is to be further rudely shaken and jostled out of its even course by the vigorous forward strides of knowledge and thought? Nevertheless, and although it may sometimes be disturbing to do so, cold facts must be looked in the face, and from every point of view it is well to recognize that the advance movement will go on to further accomplishments, even as the human mind strives ever onward to reach and explore broader fields, the human heart to seek repose in the infinite sympathy of the great heart of all. And here comes along another one of the increasing many who cannot regard man as a being created separately and in a different way from all else and hence standing alone and quite unrelated to all other forms of life, but see in him a being evolved by natural laws out of lower forms of life and therefore merely the foremost figure in one great universal plan vivified by one omniscient power which exerts the same influence, differing only in degree, on man, beast and plant—and proceeds to demolish some of the few remaining barriers between man and the brute world, barriers that have been clung to with the utmost tenacity, to which men have pointed and saying: Thus far ye have come, thus far have ye driven us, but farther ye cannot go—defied science to remove them.

In four interesting chapters Mr. Evans clears the ground and leads up to his subject. In the course of these chapters,

which may be regarded as preliminary, he lays much stress upon what he contends to be the effect of Christian teaching, which by exalting man and treating all sentient life as existing first of all for his benefit, pleasure or gratification, leads us unconsciously to regard animal life as nothing we need consider and so engenders cruelty toward animals. This tendency of Christianity is contrasted with the influence of Oriental religions, Buddhism in particular, which teaches that all life is inviolably sacred and constitutes "kind and sympathetic treatment of the lower animals" an "essential element of religion and religious education." Yet in strange contradiction the very people who will minister unto decrepit and diseased beasts, birds and even insects, seem largely indifferent to human suffering. Mr. Evans pleads eloquently for more humane treatment of the lower animals, and Christian-hearted people who are working through societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, and others, too, will find food for thought in the following words: "There can be no doubt that the general acceptance of the theory of evolution would exert upon the Western mind a wholesome influence in favor of greater consideration for all forms and embodiments of life, corresponding to the benign effect which the belief in metempsychosis has produced upon the less positive and more mystical and metaphysical mind of the East."

Everything else failing, speech has been held to be an insurmountable barrier separating man from beasts. So, after a discussion of animal psychology to demonstrate that animals are capable of reason and consequently of conscious action, and therefore not to be distinguished from man on this ground, Mr. Evans takes up the question of speech and with much evidence and effective logic combats the "assertion" that animals are incapable of speech. Max Muller and others have been very positive on this point, denying emphatically that animals possess anything like articulate speech. We cannot here follow Mr. Evans' argument, but it gains no little strength from the fact that at the weakest points he takes pains to show wherein it is weak, and how assumption may lead to error. His conclusion regarding the yet unsolved problem of speech among animals cannot be more concisely stated than in his own words.

"With every advance in the ascending scale of animal life the power of expression increases, gradually ceasing to be a monotonous hum or dull drone, and becoming considerably modulated and growing more and more articulate until it reaches its highest development in human speech. Great as may be the disparity between the squeak of a mouse, the chatter of a parrot, the roar of a gorilla, the gibberish of a Bushman, and the eloquence of a Demosthenes, there is really no break in this long process of evolution corresponding to the growth of the intellectual faculties in the several species. Every creature has a language of its own composed of significant sounds intelligible to its kind; and there is no point in the development of vocal utterance at which it can be said, hitherto, these sounds have been empty and unconceptual noises, henceforth they express the wants, emotions, and ideas of those who use them."

There is a certain freshness about this book that is very attractive and the careful reader will not find his interest flag at any point. The large fund of information here gathered together, is frequently presented in a way that is highly entertaining.

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#### Artificial Eccentricity Burlesquing Humor.

*The Eugene Field I Knew.* By FRANCIS WILSON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

It does not appear, as could be wished, that this very ornate little volume is put out for the benefit of the late humorist's family. Such an announcement would have disarmed criticism. The book and its maker invite it. Eugene Field was honored by the friendship and patronage of the apparently eminent burlesque actor who figures in the title as prominently as his subject, and whose modesty permits him to print some jingle of Field's, beginning,

So Wilson gets this curious book;  
Well, he is my Mæcenas.

The poet was the Horace of Chicago, and named his house the Sabine Farm. That he had a full, but by no means an exceptional, share of geniality, a tender affection for outlandish books, an average liking for children, a passion for buffoonery, a cultivated knack of imitating old forms of verse, an uncertain play of humor, and a mania for turning all these into self-advertisement, is superabundantly demonstrated by the author. Such a gift naturally commands the admiration of the actor-mind. Whether the exhibition of his hero (who died before time and circumstance had mellowed his crudities) as a literary circus clown is the service of a true friend is for the reading public to decide. As a study of character, and as a type of the semi-pro-

fessional "humorist," whose status is not yet quite fixed, this "chronicle of small beer" invites passing notice. We view it entirely separate from Field the individual, whose radically wholesome nature and gifts win cordial regard despite Mr. Wilson's lamentable panegyric.

The "humorist," we learn, is one who "in his happiest moods" makes you listen while he reads doggerel and comments on it thus: "his, Oh, isn't that lovely! and his mock-seriousness, and his unique way of hunching himself into various comic positions on his chair, were very mirth-compelling. He was not unmindful of the effect which he was producing, and grinned good naturedly all the while at your helpless emotion . . . If his lot had been cast with the players he would have risen far above mediocrity. Here was confirmative evidence of the man's versatility of talent, of his being much to everybody and dissimilar to all. For his friends of the cloth he wrote the most beautiful prayers and made charming paraphrases of the psalms." When he signs eminent persons' names to poems of his own, he has a perfect answer to their indignation in assuring them that they are too dense to see a good joke. When Mrs. Humphrey Ward, in a London drawing room, asks him about American social customs it is gentlemanly wit to reply that when he was first caught he was up a tree. When someone swore in the presence of clergymen, the humorist apologizes, being shocked, assuring the divines that he had never heard his friend use profanity before. The exquisite joke in this is explained in imposing language by our author, who assures his reader that his hero was "a most fertile producer of expletives both forcible and picturesque." If the humorist is ambitious for such immortality as a book like this confers, he will write all his ordinary notes in ordinary rhyme; if he can parody Chaucer, or an old ballad, or even the lines under Shakespeare's bust, quaint spelling and phrasing, to serve the most trumpery purpose, it is a token of genius graced by shining wit. It is "uniquely humorous" to address a letter like this, and treat the postmen to a sight of the true poet in his funny vein.

There is herein a plaintive ditty  
For E. C. Stedman, New York City;  
In Broadway, 66, fourth story,  
You'll find the same in all his glory.  
So take this packet to that Stedman,  
Or, by St. Hocus, you're a dead man!

An equally original and refined mode of displaying this rare gift of humor is to get on the platform before a distinguished lecturer arrives and gravely announce, in burlesque of his manner, that owing to a cold, he introduces you, by name, as his substitute. You cannot use your own name too conspicuously or too often in your "humorous effusions." Actors find it pays, why not imitation poets? Needless to remind the true humorist that the utterance of an exaggerated lie, solemn-faced and in pompous tones, is the surest and easiest way to get a reputation for being an excruciatingly droll wit. In view of future fame and a possibly degenerate taste for humor in posterity, it is prudent to enable your biographer to exalt your unparalleled wisdom, good nature, and literary greatness. As thus:

"His mind and heart were wide open to the sunshine of humor and the joy of laughter . . . He characterized those wet blankets, those assassins of mirth, who refuse to believe that the cheerful man can be possessed of a refined sensibility, as drones in the hive of happiness, and he thought they merited the fate of their insect confreres. Viewed in the light of policy alone, he believed in laughter and thought it the surest way to make people kind . . . His love of practical jokes brought him less credit as a scholar than he deserved. He knew much Latin and some Greek. He was a book-lover of a pronounced type . . . Though he did not lack in piety, such was his love of a good book that he felt with Charles Lamb that grace before Milton or grace before Shakespeare was as essential as grace before meat."

In this charming style you can be portrayed as having thought all the great, sweet, and witty thoughts of the great writers of the past, from Horace to the still more useful Mr. and Mrs. Anon, and perhaps your admirers will call them mean for using them before you had a chance to print them yourself. If any budding humorist reads these lines, he will now know where to go to get an admirable object lesson in what to avoid, if he thinks of courting the applause of sensible folks, in the profession of a funny rhyming, or a still funnier burlesque biographer.

Be resolutely and faithfully what you are, be humbly what you aspire to be. Be sure you give men the best of your wares, though they be poor enough; and the gods will help you to lay up a better store for the future. Man's noblest gift to man is his sincerity; for it embraces his integrity also.—*Thoreau.*

#### BRIEFER NOTICES.

*Henry VIII. and the Reformation, in Relation to the Church of England.*  
By the REV. WILLIAM FREDERIC FABER. New York: Thomas Whitaker. 15 cents.

This highly artistic miniature folio pamphlet appears to be the substance of one of the lectures that have been given during several years by the English Church, and in this country by the Protestant Episcopal Church, in defence of the claim that the Anglican is the original and true Church. The Roman taunt that it is the creature of a king not specially distinguished for piety or virtue is obviously hard to endure. The author of this learned little treatise contends, and with strong backing of facts and authorities, that Henry did not found a new Church, because it was already there in full working order. He did compel certain reforms, which were good for her, but he was not the inaugurator of the overthrow of papal supremacy. That had its beginnings centuries before his day. His divorce of Catharine afforded him a good opportunity for carrying out the nation's resolve to break from Rome. For these and other reasons those who share the views of the author and his school in the Protestant Church insist that they are entitled to call themselves members of the holy Catholic Church, without regard to what the Roman branch believes or objects to. Apart from the ecclesiastical controversy the subject has a lively historic interest.

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*The Love of an Obsolete Woman.* Chronicled by Herself. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.

A good title is half the book, though the book may not live up to its title. This is a story of the stage, or rather of the misplaced love of an actress for an actor, already married. The materials are familiar, the plot can be guessed near enough for the present purpose, so what remains to be done is to notice the style of the writer. The literary power is above the average, which is no slight praise now the general level of authorship is so high. It is a plain story of life, probably a more faithful bit of self-portraiture than need be avowed on a title page, though it would be unfair to suggest that the main features of the plot are literally true. The always fascinating, seemingly, but always unpleasant problem of the marriage relation and its laxities is discussed in as clean a spirit as possible. Through the whole runs a vein of bitter sorrow, flaming at times into indignation that justifies itself. Altogether it is a striking book, and deserves the success it has won.

#### ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

What effect the war will have on the literature of the next twelve months can scarcely be forecast, though it is safe to expect it will give it a blood-red tinge. It has come too suddenly for the profession and trade. The theatres are always prepared for every new mania and the songsters can wax patriotic, sanguinary, or sentimental in the twinkling of an eye, but the novelist requires time to tune his lyre to the keynote of the bugle. The jaded gorger and gorgeress of fiction will at least get a bracing draught of a newer and more real realism, for the tea-cup and saucer story will now succumb to the stirring romance of love racked by the horrors of war. And a whole shelf had better be cleared right away for the regiment of poetry books that will fire themselves in volleys at the public's pocket book, if not into its heart.

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Another literary outcome of the nation's militant ardor will be a great onslaught on its attention by writers on military topics. This will be of vital benefit, irrespective of the merit of the books themselves. Our generation is now receiving its baptism of fire, and none too soon if it is to attain its early maturity in the art and science of self-defence as surely as it has in most other essentials of national greatness. What Mahan's writings have done towards creating a living interest in our navy will now be followed up by books that cannot fail to inspire a new enthusiasm for the other arm of defence. It is too late now to blow cold on the patriotism that speaks through the mouth of the gun. Wise or unwise, we are witnessing an impressive initiation of the people into a new order of things which is not likely to lose its fascination very soon, and as authors and publishers are as eager as common mortals to sail on the tide that leads to fortune we may reckon on a surfeit of war novels for a year or two yet.

## Wanamaker's.

**Rain Coats** RAIN-PROOF coats for Men without rubber. That means much less weight, and a much more agreeable garment. The wool fibre is chemically treated, and the cloth, while being as soft and beautiful as ever, is perfectly repellent to water. An ideal coat for warm rainy days.

These are handsomely shaped as well; they have seamless shoulders, and are cut bell shape, which makes the walking easier, and throws the water farther from the shoes. A clever pocket arrangement admits the hand to the trousers pocket without unbuttoning the coat. The price—

**\$25**

Box Coats of same material, \$20, \$22.50 and \$25. Mackintoshes, of best construction, in all wanted styles and colorings, from \$5 to \$15 Chestnut street.

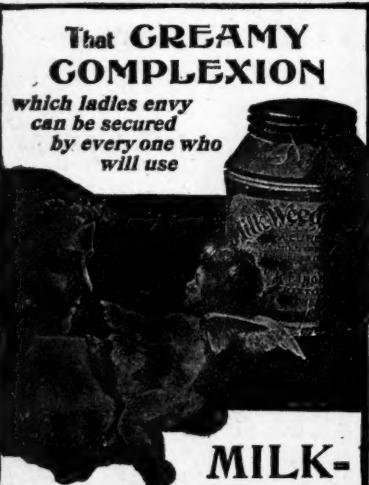
**Blankets for Guardsmen** THESE are blankets for service. The kinds that experienced men have been choosing. They are cut into single blankets; and will be sewed up into sleeping bags at a slight additional cost, if desired. Promptly, of course.

This hint of prices—

At 75c each—Heavy dark-brown Blankets without border. At \$1 each—Light-gray Blankets, with pink or blue border. At \$1.25 each—Silver-gray Blankets, in large size. At \$1.75 each—Sanitary gray Blankets; warm and well made. At \$2.25 each—All-wool silver-gray Blankets. At \$3 each—Dark blue camping Blankets; weight 5 pounds each.

Near Women's Waiting Room.

## JOHN WANAMAKER.



Several of our successful book writers served their apprenticeship as newspaper correspondents from the field of battle. They have had a long and honorable innings, and now comes the turn of the naval correspondent. The field is new, the experience very meagre, and the opportunity for fame quite as great as for a commander. He will need to carry an extra trunkful of nerves and ice bags for the brain who volunteers to sit up aloft in the crow's-nest and write his pen picture of the sea fight up to the instant when a shell carries off the mast he rides on. Graphic descriptive powers are by no means the only essentials for this venturous work. Everyone knows something about soldiering, but few are able to appreciate the merits of naval conflicts, and fewer still are qualified to grasp and explain them in a hurried report. We shall need a combination of technical expert and picturesque writer to educate us on sea battles. Now we are launched on our new career as one of the—to be—dominant naval powers of the world, it devolves upon the purveyors of books to secure writers able to give us a literature of the soldiering of the sea that shall have proper solidity, dignity and inspiration.

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Still taking the dry business view of these matters, it is to be hoped that Lieutenant Peary's Arctic book will come in handy to cool our fervent spirits and bodies down to normal level before the dog days arrive. It will undoubtedly be one of the great books of its kind, and would have been out two or three months ago but for the heavy labor of selecting eight hundred out of eight thousand photographs of Arctic scenes. The book has had to be enlarged to over twelve hundred pages. It is to appear in May. Peary has not had the best luck in the world. The public have been slower here to appreciate his work than in England, and the famous ship, the Windward, presented to him by Harmsworth, of the Harmsworth-Jackson expedition, has now been about five weeks at sea on its way here. If it is wrecked it will be a serious blow to Peary, who was going to use it on his next exploration.

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There is something refreshing in the discovery of a novelist who objects to a parade of his portrait and personal history and has succeeded in eluding the interviewer. This is James M. Graham, author of a historical novel, "The Son of the Czar," which is being well spoken of. All that the Paul Pry brotherhood have found out about him is that he is the son of a Liverpool cotton broker, educated in France, Germany, Italy and Spain, speaking Hebrew and Arabic besides, and is a fencer and oarsman. In the old days this would have been considered a pretty full and fulsome biography, but as it leaves us utterly in the dark as to the cut of his trousers and his favorite expression when plotting his plot, it will be scorned as not up to date.

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"The Spaniard in History" is announced by Funk & Wagnalls Company. The author is the Rev. James C. Fernald of the editorial staff of the "Columbian Cyclopedias," author of "A Study of the Inquisition." The work shows that the long series of oppressions and cruelties in Cuba are only the natural development of Spanish policy and in accord with the character of the Spanish nation, as manifested in its history for more than 400 years.

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A rare treasure changed hands at the recent Deane Library sale in Boston. This was a MS. diary kept in this country in 1787 by Samuel Vaughan, a wealthy English merchant. It describes a horseback tour starting from Philadelphia and ending at Mount Vernon, where he was a welcome visitor, as he had long been a correspondent of Washington. It was sold for \$225 to an unidentified purchaser, who, it is to be hoped, will allow it to be published, as it must contain much valuable information.

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Sir Charles Gavan Duffy tells a funny story in his autobiography. It suggests uncomfortable reflections for some fond souls, who, in their callow days, laid poetical offerings at the feet of their too credulous lady-loves. He was visiting a friend, whose wife handed Sir Charles a book containing some of his own poems and asked his opinion of them. "Dreadful drivel," replied the modest author. His hostess flushed. "I don't mind your laughing at me," she said, "but pray don't laugh at verses which came to me from the very heart of my husband when we first knew each other, and which I will treasure to my dying day."

## FREE CORRESPONDENCE.

Ten Thousand Women Writing to Dr. Hartman for Medical Advice.

At least ten thousand women are in correspondence with Dr. Hartman concerning some bodily ailment. This correspondence is conducted free of charge. By aid of question blanks, chemical analysis, microscopic examination, the Doctor is able to make an accurate diagnosis in a great many cases where even the attending physician could not do so. Thousands are cured; tens of thousands are relieved of some distressing symptom and given a new lease of life. Any woman can apply. Mrs. Mollie L. Murphy, Iatan, Tex., says: "Many

thanks for your kind advice. My son now has every appearance of a sound, healthy boy." Mrs. Elizabeth Grau, New Athens, Ill., says: "Whosoever follows Dr. Hartman's advice will get well." Mrs. Emma Miller, Lohmersburg, Barry County, Mo., writes: "I wrote to you for advice and you gave it. Now I feel stout and hearty. The world could not buy my fortune." Mr. Peter Hattenberger, Porterfield, Wis., writes: "After following your advice I feel perfectly well and happy." Mrs. Karolina Suter, 2138 Vine street, Cincinnati, O., writes: "I followed your directions and now have the best of health."

Every woman should have a copy of Dr. Hartman's interesting book entitled "Health and Beauty." It was written expressly for women and will be sent free to any address. Address The Pe-ru-na Drug Manufacturing Company, Columbus, Ohio.

It rests with you whether you continue the nerve-killing tobacco habit. NO-TO-BAC removes the desire for tobacco, without nervous distress, expels nicotine, purifies the blood, restores manhood. 1,500 cases cured. Buy 100 boxes, 1,000 boxes, 400 boxes, 200 boxes, 100 boxes, 50 boxes, 25 boxes, 10 boxes, 5 boxes, 2 boxes, 1 box, \$1, usually cures; 3 boxes, \$2.50, guaranteed to cure, or we refund money. Sterling Remedy Co., Chicago, Montreal, New York.

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The Macmillan Company will publish immediately Miss Molly Elliot Seawell's new novel, "The Loves of the Lady Arabella." The period is that of the latter part of the eighteenth century—a time near enough to be in touch with the modern world, but full of a splendid picturesqueness, and the story marches through sea fights, through the London of that day, and up to a tragic point.

\*\*

The wife of Capt. Crowninshield, who formerly commanded the Maine, is the author of that striking book, "Where the Trade Winds Blow," which gives an impressive account of the lower classes in Cuba, interesting reading just now.

\*\*

Little, Brown & Co. have just issued the second volume of William Laird Clowes's "History of the Royal Navy." It has as a frontispiece a portrait from Kneller's portrait of Samuel Pepys, Secretary of the Admiralty. The volume takes up the history from 1603 and carries it down to the death of Queen Anne, and the accession of the House of Brunswick in 1714. It contains 115 other pictures of maps, plans, vessels, medals, and a copious index.

\*\*

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. announce "French Literature of To-day," a critical and biographical account of the more prominent French writers of the last twenty years. The writer, Mlle. de Bury, has personal acquaintance with these and sufficient knowledge of their works to justify her in speaking of them with authority. They also issue in volume form Mrs. Wiggins's novel, "Penelope's Progress," which has been going through the *Atlantic Monthly*.

\*\*

"Martin Luther, the Hero of the Reformation; 1483-1546," in G. P. Putnam's Sons' The Heroes of the Reformation Series, will be followed at brief intervals by "Erasmus," "Zwingli," "Cranner," "Melanchthon," "Knox," "Calvin" and "Beza." The Luther book, whose publication is now announced, is by Prof. Henry E. Jacobs, of the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, Philadelphia.

\*\*

Joseph N. Beisle, for thirteen years manager of the Philadelphia branch of D. Appleton & Co., died suddenly on the 15th inst., in New York. Mr. Beisle, who was sixty-five years old, came from Philadelphia on business. After leaving D. Appleton & Co.'s office, Beisle hurried to the "L" station in an endeavor to catch the 6 o'clock train for Philadelphia, and expired at the ticket window.

\*\*

Again Scott and his popularity. The result of systematic inquiry as to the actual sales of his works in the principal bookshops of the chief English and Scotch cities settles the question beyond cavil. The booksellers are unanimous in testifying that Scott is in as brisk demand as ever, although five or six new editions have recently been added to the pile of old standards. They place him next after Dickens in selling power, and probably ahead of him as to sales of complete editions. So much for his waning fame.

\*\*

Scotland—in this connection it might be spelt Scott-land—is proud of its hero, the Wizard of the North, but the inherited stock of Waverley novels serves one or more generations of economical book buyers. The people are not over fond of fiction at best. They show this by their borrowings in the Glasgow public library. Only 9.41 per cent. of the books taken out are novels. Theology and philosophy claim 8.43 per cent. and poetry 5.96. The bulk of the rest were practical books for working folks.

\*\*

With the exception of "Kenilworth," in the British Museum, and "Waverly," in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, all the manuscripts of Sir Walter Scott's novels have passed into private hands, and are now a sealed book to the general public. Prices have risen very much. For "Old Mortality," for example, Cadell paid \$165 at the sale of Constable's collection of Scott MSS. in 1831; it fetched \$3,000 last June. The highest price achieved has been for "The Lady of the Lake," which brought 264 guineas at Cadell's sale, but changed hands lately for \$6,450.

The "Year Book of the German Shaksperean Society" shows that no fewer than twenty-seven of Shakspere's plays were staged in Germany in 1895, and that 774 performances were given in 146 German theatres. The Royal Theatre in Berlin has just announced the forthcoming production of a whole series of Shakspere's historical dramas. Shakspere is played in Germany more frequently than Schiller, Lessing and Goethe put together.

\*\*

Thomas Carlyle's house, the one in which he dwelt for forty-seven years, has been purchased and is now open to the public, exactly as it was at the day of his death. Most of the old furniture has been replaced, while the philosopher's hat, walking stick and other personal memorials are duly preserved. Fortunately, the bulk of his library is intact, and there are now to be seen the shelves containing his "Annual Register," Coxe's "House of Austria," "Ulrich von Hutten's Werke" and other books—all more or less annotated.

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Lumbago, Neuralgia, Dyspepsia, and Kindred Diseases

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Special Features offered via the True Southern Route, Consist of the Sunset Limited, a composite car, with larger upper sleeping compartment, and gentlemen's parlor, dining and smoking compartment; a ladies' parlor car, with private sleeping compartments and assembly hall; dining car—meals served a la carte, and two or more double drawing room sleepers; the train is lighted throughout with Pintsch gas, and the composite and parlor cars are furnished with libraries and current literature. This elegantly equipped train runs from Chicago and St. Louis, through without change.

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For further information apply to nearest ticket agent, or H. C. TOWNSEND, Gen'l Pass. and Ticket Agt., St. Louis, Mo., or W. M. E. HOYT, Gen'l Eastern Pass. Agt., 301 Broadway, New York.

This new French medical discovery has been used with remarkable success in Bellevue Hospital, New York; Howard Hospital, Philadelphia; Maryland and Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore; and in various other hospitals in the prominent cities.

What a Physician Says:

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY  
Baltimore, 5th April, 1897.  
The experiments made here at the hospital with the Polynice Oil, witnessed by me, having been very successful, I hereby recommend it in all cases of rheumatism.

(Signed) DR. F. L. ROGER.

POLYNICE OIL  
Imported from Paris, 50 cents per bottle. Sent on receipt of price.  
Dr. Alexandre, specialist of Paris, 1218 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

## WORDS OF WISDOM.

NEY, never falter; no great deed is done  
By falterers who ask for certainty.  
No good is certain, but the steadfast mind,  
The undivided will to seek the good;  
'Tis that compels the elements, and wrings  
A human music from the indifferent air.  
The greatest gift the hero leaves his race  
Is to have been a hero. Say we fail!—  
We feed the high tradition of the world  
And leave our spirit in our children's breasts.  
—George Eliot.

\*\*

Hope is a necessity; realization a luxury.

\*\*

Let him who would move the world first move himself.—*Socrates*.

\*\*

It is always safe to learn, even from our enemies—seldom safe to instruct, even our friends.

\*\*

God must like common people, or he would not have made so many of them.—*Lincoln*.

\*\*

Before thou reprehend another, take heed that thou art not culpable in what thou goest about. He that cleanses with blotted fingers makes a greater blur.—*Quarles*.

\*\*

Money always wins the first battle against man, but never the last.—*Brownson*.

\*\*

All the strength a man possesses has come from the enemies he has conquered and the obstacles he has overcome. It is the difficult lesson that yields the largest return and measures the largest growth.—*Rev. S. L. Batten*.

\*\*

"Law is not law, if it violates the principles of eternal justice."—*E. M. Child*.

\*\*

"We hang little thieves, but we let the big ones off."—*German Proverb*.

\*\*

"It is as much a theft to steal with a long head as with a long arm."—*Ruskin*.

## A CHAPTER ABOUT CHILDREN.

PERSEVERANCE! Can you spell it?  
And its meaning, can you tell it?  
If you stick to what you're doing,  
Study, work or play pursuing,  
Every failure bravely meeting,  
Bravely each attempt repeating,  
Trying twice and thrice and four times,  
Yes, a hundred, even more times,  
You can spell it! You can spell it!  
And its meaning, you can tell it!

—Anna M. Pratt.

\*\*

When an infant cries, it is to express dissatisfaction with something beyond its control. This may be a colic, or a pin, or an exaggerated covering, or a fit of the blues, or, in some cases, real up-and-down hatefulness and savagery.

The disposition too often with young mothers is to stop the crying, rather than to remove the cause of it. Instead of studying how to render the babe more comfortable, they really make it more uncomfortable by their Herculean efforts to soothe it. If they can only hush the poor little thing, and induce it to suffer in silence, they are satisfied.

Unless crying from pure spite, it is best to let a baby keep on complaining till his trouble is over. It is a little hard on the nerves of those who hear him, but it relieves the tot wonderfully and often does him permanent good. He will sleep all the better after his little song of lamentation is over, especially if he has not been jolted, jounced, squeezed, trotted, stuffed and scolded till he does not know whether he is a member of the human race or a troublesome article of furniture.

Some time ago a gentleman, in addressing a company of boys, said:

"Can any one of you tell me what a boy is good for?"

One of them put up his hand, and began to snap his fingers.

Said the speaker, "What is it?"

The boy replied, "A boy is a good thing to make a man out of."

\*\*

"Nothing so exasperates a young girl," writes Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "as the ding-donging into her ear of those cant phrases, 'I never did that when I was a girl,' 'I never read such books when I was a girl,' 'Such things were considered unfit for the young in my day.'

The mothers and grandmothers, aunts and great-aunts, who indulge in those nagging remarks forget that social conditions change from generation to generation. Fortunately for the peace of mind and well-rounded development of the young of to-day, there are only a few left who harp on that old phrase, 'unfit for the young.'

"It is quite true that girls are allowed more liberty in the matter of literature and amusement now than they were in our grandmothers' time, because we have so much more to read and so many more forms of entertainment. Of course, girls were restricted then, and they are restricted now, in the selection of their reading matter. When I was a girl, 'Don Quixote,' 'Hudibras,' 'The Three Guardsmen,' 'Tale of a Tub,' 'Romance of the Forest,' and books of that sort, were considered too giddy for young women to read. They were, indeed, forbidden fruit in nearly every household, and, where kept at all, placed on the top shelf of the bookcase, a place forbidden to the young girls of the family. This was the law in my home, but I read every one of those books before I was fifteen. How did I get them? I got up on a stepladder, selected the book I wanted, tied it to my garter, and away I went with it. No one was any the wiser and neither was I after I read the books. So it is with the young to-day. They wouldn't understand many of the books that they are forbidden to read."

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